[illegible]

/[illegible] says/
saying distinctly: "[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible] man and after death under the most desperate conditions imaginable, in deep contact to their own faith. I myself experienced this. During a burial, while the corpse in the grave was being covered with earth, the old man, in the helplessness of his grief, turned to me with the following words which sounded very resentful: "There he lies, my cousin. And yet you Europeans say: 'Every corpse will leave its grave and become that which it was in life.' No, there is no such thing!" This man, like all his countrymen, was simply not to be converted to the new teachings of the missionaries. He clung to the traditions handed down by his forefathers. They always know how to make a sharp division between their own indigenous body of ideas and newly introduced, foreign conceptions or views.

Furthermore, a characteristic feature of the religious ideas of the Fuegians is their pronounced simplicity. The Supreme Being even lacks a proper name. Every Yamana is named after his birthplace (p. 53). Is it not logical, therefore, that "the-one-up-there" has no such name because he was not born in the homeland of the Indians? Instead they use circumlocutions as ordinary social conventions. The names for the Supreme Being emphasize particular characteristics which are, however, intensified to the utmost. In both directions, therefore, tribal customs with regard to name-giving are transferred to him. If here below an aged person is shown general respect, all the more is this due the foremost and true "old one," Watauinéiwa. Similarly, the few remaining characteristics applied to him are part of the everyday events and social customs of the Yamana people. The fact remains, however, that he is a spirit and therefore exhibits forms of being that differ from people here on earth. Nothing specific is known about these forms. Truly, the Fuegian is consistent in his simple thinking, even concerning his deity.

Finally the considerable number and the diversity of their prayer formulas must be noted. The archaic wording speaks for itself. The Indians themselves vouch for the great age of these short sayings because they contain many words and word combinations that have long since disappeared from ordinary speech. In addition there is the opinion of the aged John Lawrence and his sons who were well versed in the language and several times expressed

/1093 cont.

c. The Human Soul

774 From the start the Fuegian differentiates between animate and inanimate objects. For him, human beings and animals, his Watchimalwa, and the many different spirits are actually living creatures, whereas /1094/ he does not attribute life in the actual sense to plants and stones, the forces of nature, and his own implements. His idea of life and of being alive coincides with the possession of a soul. The soul is the true principle of life and, as such, it may exist by itself or be united with the human body. Hence, according to the clear conceptions of the Yamana, it is a being in itself, and thus something entirely different from a body. This interpretation more or less corresponds to what we Europeans mean by the words "soul" or "spirit."

• 775 The independence and individuality of a spirit-being is definitely emphasized by a distinct designation which, although a generic term, is used only for the human soul and actual independent spirits. It is "kéipix," a word that has been repeated often enough by missionaries and travelers. The forms kéipix and kéepix are also heard. SD:175 gives kéepix, "a spirit, a ghost, an apparition, a man who has lost a brother or cousin" /cited in English/; the latter meaning was not mentioned to me. They use this expression exclusively with the basic meaning of "spirit-being." It was sometimes given unjustifiable limitations or inadmissible explanations. Bridges (I):15, for example, limits the meaning of the word kéipif, as is sometimes permissible, as follows: "The Cushpij were spirits which at night could make themselves visible but not tangible. They were malign, and the yahgans associated them with sickness and death" /cited in English/. Nevertheless this description shows that pure spirit-beings have an independent form of existence. Hyades (c):255 has repeated this interpretation in an expanded form; he calls Kachpikh an "untranslatable term referring to fantastic beings" /translated from French/. Spencer:101 is more definite and uses the term only with reference to the human soul: "Cush-pik is the spirit part of man" /cited in English/.

Besides incorporeality, which seems to be an essential characteristic, at least externally, still other traits are attributed

/103b cont./

115 to the ilgoi. Above all, the human body is animated by it and it alone. These ilgoif who, to begin with, are not joined to a body have their own independent life, for example, the yelkel, who, as forest spirits, can perhaps be compared to our fairies. The human soul, after its separation from the body, continues the same independent existence. As long as the ilgoif remains in the body assigned to it, the human being remains alive. Dying begins, the Yamana say, when "the ilgoif leaves the body. It is Watauineiwa who takes it away." Thus the soul outlives the body. Since, according to their conception, dying is a dissolution of the connection between body and soul, the isolated spirits, including the human soul, do not die after death, in other words, they continue to exist. Strangely enough, the Fuegians are unwavering in this train of thought. /103b/ They listened to my questions about a possible cessation of the spirit-beings with amazement, as though this imputation were in itself a contradiction.

It is also surprising that they do not admit any aging of the ilgoif, for example, in the sense of the accumulating years of a man's life. They recognize, if one may so express it, differences in age and sex among the yelkel, adults and children of both sexes, just as among human souls after death. Once established, this condition continues without change, despite the passing of years, and "a child ilgoif does not mature and become an adult spirit," as Malemikem emphatically assured me. The fact that the human soul does not cease to exist and does not change, even after ever so long a time, positively means that it is immortal. Several observers have pointed out this belief of the Yamana, while others have denied it (33). As early as 1866 Bridges (a):211

33. Cooper:150 has collected the individual opinions. An examination shows that some of the observers contradict themselves on this point. In view of this, one is probably justified in seriously doubting the credibility of the testimonies, and all the more so since even Bridges wavers in his opinions and maintains elsewhere (e):332: "They had no conception

775 /1095 cont./ of a future good or bad existence or of the presence of a spirit in man, which survives the body." In the first part he is right; in the second he contradicts himself.

reported: "They believe in the immortality of the soul" /cited in English/. This is actually the case, and it is not worthwhile to consider contrary opinions.

774 Furthermore, the Yamana believe that the spirit-beings have unlimited freedom of movement, so to speak. During sleep, above all in dreams, the kēšpiš leaves the body temporarily and goes elsewhere. Spencer:101 also mentions: "When dreaming, the spirit goes out of him" /cited in English/. In this connection it is worth noting that the kēšpiš, after such a leave-taking, must be anchored to the body anew, as it were, by means of a ceremonial act, usually by a yékamuš. This will be explained later. Several times my attention was called to an important distinction: "While someone is dreaming, his kēšpiš merely goes for a walk, and of course soon returns, but if a person dies, Wataúinéiwa takes the kēšpiš away and will not permit it to reunite with the body." When the Yamana say, "One cannot see a spirit-being, simply because it is kēšpiš," they mean: it is not corporeal, for only something corporeal is visible to the eye. Nevertheless they admit that such a spirit-being can occasionally make itself visible, but they do not explain this in detail. Once I asked: "If my brother has been dead for a long time and then I, too, die, will my kēšpiš meet that of my brother, will it see him and be able to communicate with him?" In reply I was told: "We do not know that. We are completely /1096/ ignorant about how the kēšpiš behave over there." If the Yamana wish to explain their own vague idea about the existence of a kēšpiš, all they can say is: "It is something like the breath or the air that comes out of one's mouth."

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774 761 It seems to me that their view of the derivation and origin of the human soul is not entirely clear. In a vague way they admit that the Supreme Being plays a decisive role, namely, that the soul of the newborn child comes from him, whereas the body of the child owes its origin to its parents (34). Common

34. Spencer:102 says: "New born child gets

/1096 cont./

774 761

spirit 'from nature'" /cited in English/. The Yamana does not express himself that way. Spencer adds, correctly: "Some imagine they see the spirits. Informant knows nothing of spirits' life except that they always remain" /cited in English/.

expressions also reveal this conception. For example, grieving parents say: "Watauinčiwa let my child die, the one he gave me," but they do not express themselves in more detail about the whole process.

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Once I wanted to know whether animals also had their kěspiš. Apparently this thought had never occurred to them, for they shook their heads in denial. Then I said to them: "Animals are certainly clever, especially the dog. He understands the calls and gestures of his master, he helps in hunting and is faithful. How can that be?" They replied: "We care for the dog as for a child. He helps us a great deal. We never leave him behind all by himself in a deserted place, for if he were cut off from us we would always and everywhere be aware of the barking and howling of such an abandoned dog. Perhaps the dog does have a kěspiš of his own, but he is the only one, other animals do not have it." Thus, the Yamana do not in so many words attribute a kěspiš like that of the human soul to animals.

[171] 774

Their views are essentially like those of the neighboring Selk'nam about their kášpi (Vol. I, 537), even the names that the two tribes give to the human soul and to the spirit-being are almost the same.

b. Belief in a Future Life

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Despite the contrary assertion of a few travelers who need not be taken seriously (35), the Yamana are, without exception,

35. Darwin (d):247 writes: "Captain Fitz Roy could never find out whether the Fuegians have any definite belief in a future life. They bury their dead sometimes in caves and

/1096 cont./

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sometimes in the mountain forests; we do not know what kind of ceremonies they have." Even Hyades (p):332 commits a serious error: "The idea of a future life does not exist" /translated from French/. Further references to incorrect views would not lead anywhere; hence they need not be specifically mentioned here.

convinced that the human soul lives on. They speak of this clearly enough in various ways. /1097/ It must be admitted, however, that they do not conceive of the other world as a secure situation or a definite place. This circumstance has led to the erroneous assertions of many observers who simply wanted to maintain that the Yamana, although adhering to the idea of the survival of the human soul, nevertheless are incapable of expressing themselves in detail about how the soul goes on living. The Fuegians do not waver in the one assertion that at death the kespix leaves the body and continues a life of its own. Once soul and body have been separated by death, that is, as was said on page 1034, by the intervention of Watauineiwa, any subsequent union is forever excluded. After that the soul stands alone, whereas the corpse decays.

Just as this belief must be regarded as reliably certain, so also it cannot be denied that our natives lack a fairly clear and substantial idea of the life of the soul after its separation from the body. They have only one answer to all questions pertaining to this: "We know nothing about those kespix after death!" This answer occurs repeatedly in the accounts of earlier observers. Despard (b):698 wrote: "The Firelander thinks, when a man dies, his breath goes up to heaven; but for what, he has no notion, and is ignorant of a return to the flesh. He denies the upward ascent of breath to other animals" /cited in English/. In any case, it is certain that the Yamana have never maintained a transformation of the human soul or its transfer to another being. Bridges spoke of this several times. Very early he (a):211 said: "They believe in the immortality of the soul, their word Cahgahgooloo, signifying to fly up, evidences this fact" /cited in English/. Elsewhere, (i): 19, (k):238, (h):207, he asserts: "They had no future, and expected

/1097 cont./

115 nothing after death. Anyway this was true for the most part; they had a word expressive of death Cagagulu, the meaning of which seems to convey an idea of an after spiritual state" /cited in English/. Dabbene (b):202, Spegazzini (a):172, and others repeat the same view. This word, with which, at times, a kind of idolatry was set forth in many a treatise (Cooper:151), is an ordinary intransitive verb and means, according to BD:195, given as kāgāgulū, "to die, to cease to be, get used up; be all gone or spent" /cited in English/. Often this verb has its original meaning and is not used exclusively in the sense of "to die." One could use kābópana with the same meaning.

The complete uncertainty of the Yamana about the fate and condition of a departed soul evokes that unusually high degree of grief among the ones left behind which strikes every outside observer. Their demonstrations of mourning are likewise very pathetic and deeply moving because they are born out of despair, as it were, because after death a reunion is impossible. /1098/ I was repeatedly told: "With death everything [every connection] between us and the kĕ̆spiĭ̆ ceases. We do not know how the kĕ̆spiĭ̆ comes when a child starts to live; nor do we know where his kĕ̆spiĭ̆ goes afterwards. It goes far away, far beyond the sea!" Nelly Lawrence once showed me an old photograph. It showed several persons who were together at one of the mission stations, only four of whom are still alive. Emphatically and seriously, but quite ironically she assured me: "The old Yamana, even my own father and I myself, have never been able to believe that we would all see each other again after death. The missionaries maintain this, but none of us can believe it. Why, everyone can see how the corpse is laid into the earth and decays there; after a few years nothing is left of it. The talk of the missionaries is trickery; they want to deceive us. We never believed them and we don't believe it to this day!" After a short time she repeated, with a mocking smile: "There simply cannot be a reunion because the corpse completely disintegrates!" Her words were not in any way provoked by me, but they brought her visible relief. She often discussed this topic in detail with her people, and it seemed to me that this time she also wanted to confess openly to me: We Yamana will not let ourselves be deceived by anyone, not even the missionaries; we shall inviolably cling to our own truths which seem plausible

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775 797 to us! There is some tragicomedy in the fact that the daughter-in-law of the missionary John Lawrence should have so expressed herself! With such tendencies on the part of our Fuegians it would be a psychological monstrosity to maintain that the figure of Watauinēiwa was taken entirely from the Europeans. This one example shows how strictly they keep their own religious heritage separate from the teachings of their missionaries. They have their own explanation, derived from their characteristic habits of thought, for the divergent attitude of Christians. "The Christians," [551] I was told by the Yamana, "do not show nearly as much pain and grief for a dead person as we do! They do not even change their name" (36). It grieves our Indians to repeat the name of a dead

> 36. The conditions under which someone changes his name if it is identical with that of a deceased person will be given on p. 1060.

person, but this does not affect the less sensitive Christians. 775 Gertie said: "We are immeasurably sad when one of our people dies because we do not know what comes after death. We do not know whether we shall be able to see and speak to the kĕspix or how they are and whether they are happy. All that we do not know, that is why we are so sad and why we weep a great deal!"

775 781 They do admit the possibility of seeing one of their deceased relatives again, although they are not strictly logical about it. Many a /1099/ Yamana said: "When I am very sad and long to see them, when I keep thinking about them, they finally come to me. I see them in my dream. They are not just dream images, they are the real kĕspix!" In my opinion these words point to particularly vivid dreams or actual visions which cause the delusion. It is all the more striking that in the Hašamáif wátuwa it is said that the kĕspix of four deceased brothers and their malevolent brother-in-law returned as actual human beings after their violent deaths and temporarily were in contact with their unsuspecting nephew, like real people, but their behavior is described as that of mentally inferior persons. It is only in this story, not anywhere else, that the souls of deceased persons appear.

/1099 cont./

715 828 The Yamana say nothing about future retribution, which is logical in view of the general uncertainty about the fate of the human soul after death. They do, however, definitely separate their countrymen into good and bad. I said to them: "Many people are hard-working and diligent, honest and good. They are always that way, whereas some are indolent and lazy." Their answer was: "The Yamana learn in the čiéxaus how they should conduct their lives, what is proper for a decent human being. Each person, when he was an ušwáala, promised faithfully to carry out what the old people recommended. That is why these people work for themselves and their family; they care for their relatives, they give part of their booty to neighbors, they are good people and easy to get along with. But besides that there are also bad people. They are lazy and burdensome gossips; they no longer remember what was taught them in the čiéxaus and what they promised there; they no longer pay any attention to what the Yamana practice. That is why we despise them. Everyone lets them go their own way and holds himself aloof from them. Their fate soon overtakes those sloths and gossips. Watauinéiwa lets them die prematurely! There are good and bad human beings. A bad human being behaves badly simply because he is bad; a good human being behaves well because it is his nature to be good. Whether the kéšpiš of these people will be the same afterwards [after death]? That we do not know!" It is clear from all this that the Yamana do not know the condition of the soul after death. They view an untimely death as a punishment which serves more or less as adequate atonement for serious errors, so that probably the necessary penance has been made.

715 Our Fuegians, finally, are just as vague about a definite place of abode of the kéšpiš. The two statements of Bridges (a): 211 and (k):238 are justified: "They have no thoughts of a future state, either of reward or punishment /cited in English/...They do not fear a future life or cherish hopes beyond the grave" /translated from Spanish/. The general opinion is that "they go far away beyond the sea." This particular expression is repeated again and again. Richard asserted what other /1100/ people confirmed: "The kéšpiš go far out to sea, there where the many ašóula /killer whale/ are. The kéšpiš stay near them and sometimes come with

/1100 cont./

775 the aš̆ula through our region here [as though they were on a journey], as the yékamuš who can see both [groups] tell us!" Exceptions to this general rule are the kĕšpiš of the yékamuš and of persons who have drowned. Of the latter it is said: "While a person is drowning he threshes about excitedly. That is his kĕšpiš which is leaving him. After that the kĕšpiš stays in that place on water. Sometimes one hears his call; it sounds like the barking of a sea lion, but it is the call of the kĕšpiš of the drowned person." As for the yékamuš, "all persons surrounding a dying yékamuš must continually utter a wailing hu hu hu; at the same time they let their arms hang down and move their hands forward as though they were pushing sand or water. These movements quickly drive far away the Haučélla spirit (37) that is leaving the dying yékamuš.

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37. This spirit was characterized and described in detail on p. 746.

If this were not done, this bloodthirsty villain would remain at the place of death and harass all the people." Naturally, everyone present is painted with the white horizontal line from the nostrils to the ear-lobes. The kĕšpiš of certain persons, including those of the yékamuš, are strongly attracted by Haučélla. If they follow this woman, they actually go down into the earth with her and remain with her. Finally the Yamana also concede that sometimes a kĕšpiš appears near the hut and in the neighborhood of their own families. It whimpers and groans, although so softly that the people can scarcely hear it, but that is how they recognize it (38).

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38. Bove (d):297 and (e):159 assert: "In general the Fuegians are not very superstitious; if someone dies, they believe that the spirit leaves the body and roams about through the forests and beyond the mountains, restlessly suffering if he was evil in life, happily and quietly if he was good." His traveling companions Lovisato (b):149 and Spegazzini (a):172 repeat the same assertion. I did not encounter this

/1100 cont./

775 view. Spencer:101 generalizes an idea which, as such, is correct: "When he dies, the spirit remains alive and roams around place where he dies" /cited in English/.

775 The Yamana assume that the souls far out above the sea
791 move about freely and are not limited to a definite place or crowded together. Several times they clearly and definitely asserted: "It was the missionaries who first told us that the kĕspiɨ of good human beings are assembled in a place apart from those of bad people. Everyone will be reunited there! The Yamana never said anything like this, and we still do not believe it. A person who has died remains invisible and inaccessible to all others. We do not know whether later on the kĕspiɨ recognize each other and whether they still remember this country here [their home]. The missionaries tried to comfort us in our great sorrow with words like these. They did not succeed, for we know better what happens to the kĕspiɨ!" Without doubt the explanations of the missionaries /1101/ provoked determined opposition among the Fuegians. This sample also shows how they consciously separate their own religious heritage from the new teachings. They are actually proud of themselves and regard themselves as victors over the missionaries who tried in vain to substitute their so-called false views for the truth contained in the old Indian tradition (39).

39. Spears:71 says the same thing in different words: "When the missionaries would have spoken to the Yahgan of his dead relatives they could not without offending him seriously" /cited in English/. This kind of statement shows the great weight of actual facts.

775 For the souls of their dead collectively the Yamana use the general expression ūlulufáala, that is, the people of the ūluluf. BD:91 treats ūlūuf as synonymous with kŏ̆pix. They know nothing

/1101 cont./

775 about the fate of the spirits in the other world nor do they fear them.

c. Mourning and Death Rites

765 The grief of our Fuegians over the loss of a tribal member in death has been described several times as unusually deep and lasting. It is caused chiefly by the uncertainty over the fate of the departed soul, for separation from it lasts forever. For obvious reasons the Yamana do not speak of events which agitate them and stir them to the depths. They hold back expressions of their grief especially in front of strangers. The travelers of earlier decades and the missionaries were able to furnish only brief and incomplete accounts. Favored by fortune, I had the opportunity to take part in the mourning of a small group of survivors, as well as in the general ceremony of mourning. Hence the following account describes my own experience. At the very beginning it should be pointed out that, generally speaking, expressions of mourning among these Indians are not mere formalities without content, but come from the deepest feelings. From the start certain unreliable opinions from other pens are rejected (40). Anyone

40. For example, Lovisato (b):146 uses almost insulting words: "True grief for the deceased does not exist; the facial painting, the shrieks, the blows, the wounds that the Fuegians make at the death of a relative, the destruction of the wigwam where the individual died, and so on... are more mere practices, rules of custom, than sincere expressions of grief" /translated from Italian/.

[171] who compares the description of the mourning customs of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 542) with those of our Yamana will find considerable agreement. One must accept this fact as it stands, and although historical connections must be mentioned as the only correct explanation for it, they can no longer be clarified in detail or even thoroughly investigated.

/1137 cont./

another opponent who is permitted this opportunity for /1138/ ruthlessly setting forth his accusations. No one may take offense at being publicly accused. All kinds of things are disclosed in this way and reach the ears of the public: events long past; the quarrels and misdeeds of a murderer and all the members of his family are lengthily and inconsiderately dragged out into the open; the cruel behavior of a husband toward his deceased wife is loudly held up to him and his relatives for the hundredth time; the proved or suspected extra-marital relations of a dissolute woman are thrown in her face without the least restraint. Everyone who feels dislike for another or who has quarreled with him singles him out during the sham battle and gives him a piece of his mind. Disagreements between whole groups of families are also revealed and characterized in detail. As one can see, the loud reproaches of the sham battle are acts of undisguised and public conscience-searching of the other party by one who is far from offering palliation! The vivid warning which comes from the near and impending death also shakes up every participant and impels him anew to lead a blameless, orderly life, to make an effort to get along with others and to be on the best of terms with the members of his family, to be helpful to everyone, and in general to cultivate the virtues of a true, proper Yamana. Thus personal conduct and public order are inestimably improved by each yamalaiemóina. It is probably with the help of this institution that the general morality of the Yamana has been kept on a surprisingly consistent high level. Even though the motive which impels many a person to censure his opponent publicly may be neither noble nor fine, at any rate the outspoken accusation is not without effect.

The Yamana will not and cannot give up their general ceremonies of mourning as long as they persist in their ancient vague conception of the life of the human soul after death. The separation from each person who is snatched away by death is for them an everlasting farewell. Nelly Lawrence often and definitely assured me in so many words: "The missionaries constantly urged us to give up the long and disturbing gatherings after the death of one of our people. They advised us: 'Don't weep so much, for we shall all see one another again after death!' But

/1138 cont./

115 no one believed them. How could it be true that we shall all meet again later? After all, the body disintegrates. So there will never be a reunion!" Each time she told me something about her people's doctrine of the soul, this noble woman spoke with a passion which sounded like hopelessness. The monotonous, lugubrious melody of mourning of the tálauwaja and the yamalaśemóina will not be silenced until the earth covers the last Yamana on the distant Cape Horn Archipelago.

/1139/ C. Cosmogony and Mythology

113 The world of religious ideas with which the doctrine of the soul is subjectively connected proves to be rich and comprehensive among our Yamana, but their world of mythological personalities is more vast and alive. These two broad spheres of ideas are sharply differentiated and distinctly separate from each other; each exists by itself, so to speak. Just as the figures in the myths and legends have not been closely connected with the figure of the Supreme Being at any point in our description above, so, too, the latter appears to be entirely separate from the former; moreover, Watauinéiwa is just as far removed from the actual spirits and medicine men. Every attentive observer can easily separate the ideas of these two disparate spheres of imaginative conception, just as the Yamana do.

113 182 In former times every figure described in their myths and legends was very familiar to our Fuegians; the individual representatives of the animal world and the celestial bodies, as well as of the objects of everyday use, often awakened the familiar combinations of ideas which were associated with those figures. Formerly favorite stories were told over and over again during the long hours of comfortable fellowship in the evening around the hut fire. Unfortunately, for the last few decades the former close ethnic unity has been disrupted and the remnants of the once large group are scattered over the broad areas of their homeland in detached fragments. The surviving families, no longer very numerous, are rarely in touch with one another, and when they do meet their exchange of opinions is limited to certain details of daily life. In view of this, it is not strange that

2: Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SH6 Yahgan SH6

881 head band and had a special painted staff. To each candidate were assigned sponsors, one or two men and a woman to the boy, one or two women and a man to the girl.

The candidates were subjected to certain endurance restrictions: little sleep, food, and drink, hard work, a daily bath in cold sea water, cross-legged posture during much of the time. They had to drink through a hollow bird bone. The boys were given a sort of temporary tattoo. Much vocational instruction was given, and particularly an elaborate moral instruction in the native code, with very concrete counsels on the obligations of altruistic behavior, respect for the aged, peaceableness, industry, not spreading scandals or carrying tales, and so forth. This moral instruction was given by the mentor, sponsors, [E76] and other elders, as the will of Watauinéwa, the Supreme Being, who saw everything and who would punish delinquents with shortened life and with the death of their children. Yetáita also, the chief evil spirit, would harm them if they did wrong.

The ritual consisted otherwise mostly of dances and of songs peculiar to it. Toward the end, the sponsors gave each candidate a basket, a bird-bone drinking tube, and a scratching-stick. The rite ended with a mock battle between the men and women, and with a feast.

[884] Only those who had gone through the čiéxaus rite were considered full-fledged members of the tribe, and were told the whole mythological complex of the Yoálox brothers and their sister. And only twice-initiated boys could take part in the kina rite (cf. infra under Religion), whith was often held just after the čiéxaus.

76 **Death and burial.**—Mourning was expressed by fasting, body painting, gashing of the breast with sharp stones, and a special mourning dirge accompanied by a mourning speech. Angry complaints were directed to Watauinéwa for letting the person die. A general mourning rite in which the men and women painted themselves, wept, hurled complaints at Watauinéwa, and engaged in a mock battle, the men with clubs and the women with paddles, was also held.

The more common form of disposal of the body, up until recent times, was cremation—lest foxes, rats, or dogs should eat the body, so the natives said. The dead person's personal property, or some of it, was burned with the body. In some cases, especially of children, the body was buried in a kitchen-midden. The burial spot was avoided as a camping place, for several years where the deceased was an adult. The name of the dead was never spoken.

• 975 **Future life.**—The koahpik (késpix), or soul, flew east, but exactly whither was not known. Nor was it known what its fate was, happy or unhappy, nor whether such fate was at all dependent on moral behavior on earth.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
SH6 Yahgan SH6

765 [535] black paint and indulged in formal ululation. They summoned their friends and relatives to the death-dance known as *yamalashemoina*, which might be repeated at intervals for several months. For it the men and women donned the white kelp-goose headband; the men supplied themselves with clubs of unusual length (fig. 95),

FIG. 95.—Yahgan ceremonial club. Length, 5 ft. (14/2261)

[761] and the women carried paddles. As with many primitive tribes, the Yahgan believed death due to some positive and active force, visible or invisible. Hence the mourning ceremony carried the threat of revenge and assumed the character of a sham battle.

775 It has been both asserted and denied that the Yahgan believed in the immortality of the soul. Testimony on this point secured in recent years from mission-reared Indians might not be considered conclusive, but mythological tales clearly indicate belief in survival. As among the Ona, only unusually powerful and bold spirits, such as those of shamans, were able to maintain contact with the visible world.

MYTHOLOGY

773 The Yahgan possessed the usual collection of myths found among primitive peoples, but these are exceedingly simple in character and lacking in humor or sublety. The most extensive study of the mythology of this tribe was conducted by Gusinde and Koppers, and has been published only in outline. Barclay, Thomas Bridges, Cojazzi, and Martial also have contributed mythological material of importance, while a few scattered tales occur in the works of other writers. It has seemed worth while to summarize these published sources because they often are difficult to obtain and have appeared in five different languages. We have followed the classification of Koppers (1924).

EXPLANATORY MYTHS

There are a large number of tales which explain the various phenomena of nature such as the slow approach of dawn, the shape of the rainbow, the spots on the moon, the bare tops of the mountains, etc. Such tales often form incidents in the more complex myth cycles we shall discuss.

3: Lothrop E-5 (1924-1925) 1928
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ETHICAL MYTHS

In this class are various stories dealing with adultery and incest. The wrongdoer is invariably punished and usually dies in disgrace. These stories are told the young during the initiation ceremonies as part of their education.

GHOST STORIES

Ghosts (*kuskpig*), especially of dead shamans, were greatly feared among the Yahgan, as they were thought at times to intervene maliciously in human affairs. Hence tales exist of close escapes or death at their hands. We should also mention tales of men who had gone mad from some cause. Living in savage solitude, they sometimes terrified the Yahgan by appearing before them or attacking with desperate fury.

"ONCE-UPON-A-TIME" STORIES

There are many stories of varied character dealing with the escapades of unnamed individuals. Quite often these tales merge in classification with transformation myths. As an example we quote the following story recorded by Cojazzi (1914, p. 32):

"A young girl was playing on the beach, following the retreating waves. A seal saw her and swam in on a big wave which caught and spilled her. He swam off with her on his back to an island where they lived two years. The seal learned Yahgan. They had a son like a man in shape but covered with seal-hide. One day the woman said she would like to visit her family, and the seal agreed; so he loaded the mother and son on his back and swam to the beach, where he waited while the girl visited her parents, who failed to recognize her. But finally they received her with joy and commenced to prepare a feast. And the men, seeing a seal on the beach, ran down and killed it, and they cooked it for the feast and gave it to the mother and son to eat. Then the son said to his mother, 'Isn't seal meat good?' The mother had a horrid presentiment and ran to the beach where she had left her husband and encountered the traces of blood. Furiously she beat her child over the head, and he fell in the sea and became the fish called *sciano*."

GIANT STORIES

To the Yahgan the giants (*kanasik*) were large and fearsome creatures with hairy skin, flowing locks, and ferocious natures.